

# Iconography and identity in early 17th-century medical portraiture

## The case of the unknown physician

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1 *Portrait of Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne* by Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), c1631. Oil and black chalk, with grey wash 31.1 x 21.8 cm.  
© Trustees of the British Museum, London

2 *Portrait of a Physician* by Cornelius Johnson (1593-1661), 1637.  
Oil on canvas 127 x 101.6 cm. © Royal College of Physicians, London

the sitter, which comes as close as Mayerne's own nephew, Jean Colladon.

Théodore de Mayerne was born to a Huguenot family in Geneva, and studied medicine at the universities of Heidelberg and Montpellier. After taking his doctorate he moved to Paris, where he became one of Henri IV's physicians. During his time in France he built up a long list of royal and aristocratic patients, who came from all over Europe to consult him. In 1611 he moved to England, where he served as a royal physician to the English crown until the end of his life.<sup>5</sup> Not only did he add King James I and the royal family to his already impressive roster of noble patients, he also managed to establish a thriving medical practice in London, a pole of attraction for many important noblemen and women.<sup>6</sup> To have such a network of clients was in itself an achievement, but Mayerne's task may have been harder still: rather than following conventional medical teaching, he was an 'iatrochemist', that is, a physician of the new and controversial kind, promoting chemically produced cures and preferring new experimentation to blind acceptance of the old authorities Galen and Hippocrates. Mayerne's interests led him to discuss problems of chemistry with apothecaries, surgeons and alchemists, and his curiosity on this subject may have brought him to what seems to have been a more personal fascination with the techniques of art. These techniques – the making of pigments and varnishes, the cleaning of paintings without damaging the paint and so on – are mostly of a chemical nature. And although Mayerne was acquainted with many noblemen through his professional appointments, he also remained in close contact with craftsmen and merchants, apothecaries and clockmakers, miniaturists and painters all over Europe.

Cornelius Johnson (1593-1661), who painted the *Portrait of a Physician* in 1637, was one of these acquaintances. Little is known of Cornelius Johnson's youth. He was baptized at the Dutch Church, Austin Friars in London on 14 October 1593, as the son of the Flemish immigrants Johanna le Grand and Cornelius Johnson, who left Antwerp for religious reasons. The painter's great-grandfather was from Cologne which explains why his name sometimes appears with the addition 'van Ceulen'.<sup>7</sup> A number of variations of his name, such as Jonson (van Ceulen) and Janssen(s), can be found. However in this article I shall use the form 'Cornelius Johnson', as it is the name he uses himself most frequently in his signatures.<sup>8</sup> Whether Johnson trained in the Netherlands or in England with local Dutch painters is not known. Johnson was appointed royal painter in 1632, and was described by Mayerne as a 'bon peintre'.<sup>9</sup> By comparison, Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641), who moved to London in 1634 and almost immediately became the court's favourite portrait painter, was called 'un peintre excellent' by Mayerne.<sup>10</sup> In 1643, just after the outbreak of the Civil War, Johnson moved to the Netherlands

In the Spring of 1631, the Swiss physician Théodore Turquet de Mayerne (1573-1655) wrote to Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), thanking him for the 'excellent tableau' Rubens had sent him (Pl 1).<sup>1</sup> The year before, in London, Mayerne had sat for Rubens and the watercolour Rubens then made provided the model for the portrait Mayerne now received. During the drawing session, Mayerne might have asked Rubens about his artistic techniques, a subject in which he took a great interest. The result of that interest is still traceable in a manuscript in the British Library, known as 'the Mayerne Manuscript' or by the title *Pictoria, sculptoria et quae subalternarum artium*.<sup>2</sup> From 1620 to 1646 Mayerne collected an impressive amount of recipes and notes, in a variety of languages, on the techniques of art, from painters, miniaturists, goldsmiths, apothecaries and artisans of various kinds.<sup>3</sup> Most were written on loose leaves of various sizes, eventually bound together in the manuscript we have today.<sup>4</sup>

It seems likely, then, that the sitter of a Cornelius Johnson portrait recently purchased by the Royal Society of Physicians, unknown to us, was well known to Mayerne (Pl 2). This portrait will form the main subject of the present article. I hope to demonstrate that Théodore de Mayerne, a key figure in English medical milieu of the early 17th century, can shed new light, through his networks, interests and occupations, on the identity of this unknown physician. I conclude with a suggestion as to the identity of

together with his wife and son. He lived in Middelburg and Utrecht, and worked in Amsterdam and The Hague as well. He died in Utrecht in 1661. During his life Johnson painted a vast amount of portraits, many of which survive in both private and public collections. Portraits by Johnson are often recognizable on stylistic grounds, and just as often by his signature. Unfortunately the identities of many of his sitters have now been lost.

The 'Portrait of a Physician' depicts a serious and wealthy man in his late twenties or early thirties, dressed in black with a big white lace collar, sitting on a grey armchair, next to a table with an open Greek Bible and in front of two bookshelves with volumes showing the names of five authors, all famous for their medical writings: on the top shelf Vesalius, Paracelsus and Celsus; on the lower shelf Galen and Hippocrates. The Bible lies open on Revelation 22:2—'the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations', as the King James Version has it. Johnson has signed and dated the portrait, but left us no direct clues about the identity of the sitter.<sup>11</sup>

The viewer is perhaps first struck by the painting's elaborate background. Although Johnson's portraits do occasionally contain detailed backgrounds, sometimes done in collaboration with other painters, most have solid dark backgrounds. The only portrait by Johnson I have been able to find with a book as part of the background is that of Antonius Aemilius (1589-1660), a professor at Utrecht University (Pl 3). The latter was painted in 1659; 22 years after the physician. The resemblance in composition is nevertheless striking, with the sitter's right hand on the arm of the chair, his left hand on the table next to him, and an open book. The precise rendering of the Aemilius portrait, especially in the sitter's face and collar, corresponds to that of the physician. However, the contrast between the respective books in the two paintings may imply that the physician's background was executed by a hand other than Johnson's.

Even clearer are the similarities in position and composition to a 1674 portrait of Baldwin Hamey Jr by Matthew Snelling (bapt 1621, d 1678) (Pl 4). This portrait belongs to the RCP and hangs next to the Johnson portrait on the central staircase. The pose of the sitters, as well as the backgrounds with bookshelves, curtain, table and chair are remarkably similar. It is certainly tempting to suggest that we are seeing the same person, thirty-seven years apart. Another



portrait of Hamey painted by Van Dyck in 1638 does not resemble the man in the 1637 Johnson picture at all.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, the sitter's features in the Van Dyck portrait match the description offered by Ralph Palmer in his biography of Hamey Jr, namely his black hair and eyes (Pl 5).<sup>13</sup> The Johnson portrait could nevertheless have served as a model for Snelling's 1674 portrait of Hamey Jr.

The sitter is dressed in a knee-length black robe common among scholars at the time.<sup>14</sup> It may be either a university robe or a house-coat. I have been unable to identify his robe as pertaining to either Oxford or Cambridge, which leads me to conclude that it is a less specific garment. The flat lace collar with its strings was fashionable in the 1630s, in contrast to the old-fashioned stiff ruff.<sup>15</sup> Lace in general was a favourite subject for Johnson's fine technique, and infrared and X-ray scans have demonstrated that a great deal of paint was used on the lace, in contrast to most other parts of the painting.

More telling details are the labels on the six books behind the sitter. The modern eye is struck by the names on labels sticking out of each book, and by the orientation of the books, displaying their fore-edges rather than their spines.





3 *Portrait of Antonius Aemilius* by Cornelius Johnson (1593-1661), 1659. Oil on canvas 112.5 x 91 cm. © Collection University Museum, Utrecht

4 *Portrait of Baldwin Hamsey Jr* by Matthew Snelling (1621-78), 1674. Oil on canvas 125.1 x 100.2 cm. © Royal College of Physicians, London

5 *Portrait of Baldwin Hamsey Jr* by Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641), 1638. Oil on canvas 66 x 55.9 cm. Private collection, © Andrew T Farren, New York

6 *Il medico* by Giuseppe Maria Mitelli (1634-1718), 1675, in *Le Ventiquattr'ore dell'humana felicità*, Bologna 1675. Etching on paper, 27.2 x 19.3 cm. *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol 42, 'Italian Masters of the Seventeenth Century'. © The Warburg Institute, London



The latter was, in fact, common practice in the period.<sup>16</sup> Labels helped a browsing reader to choose the correct volumes. The lower shelf behind the sitter represents the classical medical tradition with Galen and Hippocrates, while the upper shelf shows the innovations of the past 150 years: The *De medicina* of Aulus Cornelius Celsus (c25 BC-50 AD) had been rediscovered by humanists of the fifteenth century, while Paracelsus and Vesalius had flourished in the first half of the sixteenth. The combination of authors is surprising, especially if we consider that Paracelsus had fiercely attacked Galenic medicine, attempting to convert his readers to a more empirical medical practice.<sup>17</sup> In the same vein, Vesalius was

the first to publish an anatomical textbook in the Renaissance based on the dissection of human bodies. Not all of Vesalius' illustrations, however, derive from direct observation, since some reflect the (incorrect) descriptions of Galen.<sup>18</sup>

The inclusion of Paracelsus has provoked much debate among those seeking the sitter's identity, since Paracelsian ideas were not commonly accepted among physicians of the period, either in England or elsewhere.<sup>19</sup> But if Paracelsus was not the norm in this milieu, nor was he controversial: many London-based physicians received their training on the Continent; and the curricula of Leiden, Montpellier and Padua, to name just three universities, included Paracelsian ideas.<sup>20</sup> Hence most English physicians would have been familiar with his teachings. The library of Sir Thomas Browne and his physician son Edward, for example, contains volumes by Paracelsus, and the *Religio Medici* quotes Paracelsus twice.<sup>21</sup> Allen Debus has demonstrated that Paracelsian ideas were commonly used in seventeenth-century England without mentioning his name openly.<sup>22</sup> Although the College of Physicians expressed its doubts towards Paracelsus, it also drew up lists (in several revisions of the *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis*, first published in 1618) of medicines which included a good number of chemical remedies.<sup>23</sup> Théodore de Mayerne, in particular, was prominent within the College in promoting the new chemical medicine.<sup>24</sup>

Herbal medicine is represented in the portrait as well, visualised in the piece of paper underneath the hand of the sitter and the quotation from Revelation. Herbs have been used as medicines for as long as we know. But botany and herbalism underwent a revival during the Renaissance when many classical texts were rediscovered and translated from Greek and Arabic into Latin and the vernacular languages. Medical reformers in the 16th and 17th centuries preferred the use of local plants as herbal remedies over the expensive concoctions sold by physicians and apothecaries.<sup>25</sup> Chemical drugs were increasingly produced by Paracelsus' followers and were much more powerful than traditional herbal medicines.

The scribbles on the paper underneath the sitter's left hand seem to be in Latin. The words are '*Foli Sennae*'; *folium* or *folia sennae* would indicate the leaf or leaves of the senna plant, used as a purgative. This is a prescription for the use of *senna* as a simple, which underlines the physician's herbal approach to medicine. Prescriptions were normally notated with an 'R', as an abbreviation for *recipe*, followed by the name of the plant needed to cure the patient.<sup>26</sup> Again, the note suggests a physician with modern medical views, and presumably one with his own practice.

The final object to be examined is the page of the Greek New Testament, which reads 'τὰ φύλλα τοῦ ξύλου εἰς θεραπείαν τῶν ἐθνῶν', 'the leaves of the tree [were] for the healing of the nations'. This is the only line in genuine Greek on the open page: the rest is written in an imitation Greek script. The line is from *Revelation* 22:1-3:

And he shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb.  
In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations.  
And there shall be no more curse: but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it; and his servants shall serve him.

The chosen sentence fits within the common idea that God had provided mankind with herbs or remedies to cure the sick, like another verse often used in the same context from *Ecclesiasticus* 38:4 'The Lord hath created medicines out of the earth'.<sup>27</sup> This idea that simples brought forth from the earth could heal the sick was also used by medical reformers as an attack on more conservative physicians and apothecaries. The portrait seems to show a young physician who is aware of traditional medicine, but at the same time remains open to the new ideas of Paracelsus and other innovators.



Physicians' portraits can be divided in two categories: those portraits whose iconography clearly reveals the sitter to be a physician, and those whose sitter can only be identified as a physician by his name. The Johnson portrait falls clearly in the first category, as has been shown above. But is it a typical medical portrait? Although there are no medical instruments in the portrait, the physician is easily recognisable from his books, the prescription and Bible quotation. The same is true of many other portraits of the same period. When Rubens painted Mayerne's portrait, he represented him with a statue of Aesculapius in the background and a harbour view with a lighthouse (symbolic for healers).<sup>28</sup> Mayerne seems to have been honoured by these images and thanked Rubens for this in his letter:

Si ie ne me cognoissois moy mesme, ie serois en danger de me picquer d'un peu de vaine gloire mais non pas iusques la que de croire que les ornements dun Aisculape, et dun Phare invitant les vaisseaux de gagner un port assure, fussent deus a mon portraict.<sup>29</sup>

Another portrait of Mayerne (1635) by the English painter John Hoskins (c1590-1665) shows him holding a bust of Hippocrates and leaning on a book with the name of Hermes (ie Trismegistus) written on it. According to Hugh Trevor-Roper these are 'the models of his practice and philosophy'.<sup>30</sup>



Rubens portrayed the physician Ludovicus Nonnius, a physician in Antwerp, in front of several shelves of books and holding another one. The books in themselves do not make him a physician, but the bust in the back shows Hippocrates, which makes his profession clear. Another doctor painted by Rubens was Paracelsus himself. This painting is a fair copy of the much earlier portrait of Paracelsus by Quentin Metsys (c1465-1530), a Flemish artist. Why Rubens painted Paracelsus around 1617/18 is unknown, but his family's apothecarial background may have been one reason.<sup>31</sup> This portrait has few recognisable elements, apart from a little notebook in Paracelsus' hand, although the original painting has an inscription with the name Paracelsus.

Snelling's portrait of Baldwin Hamey Jr (see Pl 4) also contains books on two shelves behind the sitter, as well as two busts, one of the Greek playwright Aristophanes, of whom Hamey Jr, fluent in Greek, was a great admirer, and another of Hippocrates, his name appearing on the book spine just behind the bust on the table.

A caricature of the same period by Guiseppe Maria Mitelli (1634-1718) shows a physician whose attributes are very similar to those in the Johnson portrait: three shelves with books with the names of medical authors on the fore-edges of the books; an open book, in this case not a Bible but the physician's casebook, in which he made his notes on his patients; and a prescription, nearly illegible, although at the end of the scribble we can discern the quantity of the herbs to be used (Pl 6).<sup>32</sup>

In the 17th century, shelved and open books seem to be particularly connected with learned physicians, as are busts of ancient authorities.<sup>33</sup> This is in contrast to medical instruments or other practical aspects, which can be found depicted in portraits of surgeons of the time.<sup>34</sup> The Johnson portrait therefore belongs to the traditional way of depicting a learned physician: the painter has incorporated new medical ideas into the conventional form.

Théodore de Mayerne's environment seems to correspond on several levels with the milieu of the unknown sitter. Moreover, Mayerne knew Cornelius Johnson, as the brief description of Johnson by Mayerne already showed, since it was written on the page in the 'Mayerne Manuscript' containing information on yellow pigment orpiment, written in English, probably by Johnson himself.<sup>35</sup>

Mayerne's manuscript notes on artistic techniques derived from many individuals, including the most famous painters of the time: Rubens, Van Dyck, and Johnson. Rubens not only painted Mayerne but moved in the same political circles; he had come to England in 1629-30 on behalf of the Spanish Crown, hoping to reinstate peace between Spain and England.<sup>36</sup> Anthony van Dyck, as the favourite court painter of the 1630s, was another of his acquaintances, who was also strongly interested in alchemy.<sup>37</sup> Johnson was both a neighbour of Van Dyck in Blackfriars and a fellow member of the Dutch Church in London, which was also visited by Mayerne's two consecutive wives.

In Mayerne's direct circle of friends we find a person to whom the portrait's profile seems to fit exceptionally well. Jean Colladon (1608-1675) was born in Geneva in a family closely connected to John Calvin – Colladon's grandfather had been Calvin's legal adviser – and distinguished in scholarly and professional circles. On Mayerne's invitation Colladon came to London in 1631 to study medicine under Mayerne's tuition.<sup>38</sup> Mayerne's two sons, Henry and James, were about the same age as Jean, but Mayerne did not approve of their behaviour or academic achievements, and both died in the 1630s. By the latter period at the latest, then,

Colladon became Mayerne's protégé, even being referred to as 'mon enfant', and married one of his nieces (Aimée, the daughter of Mayerne's favourite sister Judith); Mayerne relied on him for the rest of his life as his personal secretary and amanuensis.<sup>39</sup>

Colladon was taught by Mayerne and incorporated as a doctor of medicine at Cambridge in 1635, whereupon he was sent to Norwich to work as a physician.<sup>40</sup> The two letters in RCP MS 444 date from this period; in these Mayerne advises his nephew-through-marriage on the treatments of certain diseases and, in greater detail, how to deal with some of his patients, who are clearly his own former patients or friends. Colladon spent most of 1637 in Switzerland collecting his bride and travelling back to England, where he continued to work in Norwich. He probably joined Mayerne soon afterwards at his house in Chelsea to assist him in his chemical experiments. We find several notes in Mayerne's manuscripts where he recounts that he had received some specific information from Colladon, or that Colladon had carried out experiments under his directions.

The fact that Colladon had been educated by Mayerne makes Paracelsus' volume in the portrait most suitable, since Mayerne was a dedicated iatrochemist who discussed his ideas openly. This stood in contrast to the contemporary native English physicians who would often use certain Paracelsian methods and techniques without mentioning him by name.<sup>41</sup> Another argument for Mayerne not avoiding to show his ideas is his own portrait painted by John Hoskins, presumably in 1636, in which Mayerne is painted not only with a bust of Hippocrates, but also with a volume with the author name 'Hermes', the same Hermes Trismegistus who was seen as the master and authority in mystical philosophy, by all means a controversial author.<sup>42</sup> And this in itself keeps the door wide open for being depicted with a less controversial author as Paracelsus.

But why would Mayerne ask Johnson to paint his nephew's portrait, rather than one of his more prestigious painter-friends, Van Dyck and Rubens? All three painters, including Johnson, are mentioned on the title page of Mayerne's *Picturia* together with Somers and Greenberry, which implies that Mayerne saw these five painters as models and examples. Van Dyck was very busy at court, and charged a great deal for his work. Rubens was no longer in the country and had probably never met Colladon. So Johnson, the 'bon peintre', the affordable and, given his fine Dutch style, the fashionable choice.

To sum up, Theodore de Mayerne treated Jean Colladon as his own son, and educated him in the study and practice of medicine. Mayerne himself was painted by Rubens in 1631 and by John Hoskins probably in 1635-6. His nephew had finished his degree and was starting his own practice in 1636; Mayerne wanted him to do well, and could easily have asked Cornelius Johnson to portray him in a respectable way, so that the nobility of England would see, trust and consult his nephew as their physician, next to himself.<sup>43</sup>

In any event, whether or not the Johnson portrait depicts Jean Colladon, we can be sure that Theodore de Mayerne knew the sitter's name.

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- 1 British Library Add MS 20.921, fols 9v-10r. There are two kinds of portraits by Rubens deriving from the watercolour which is now at the British Museum. See John Rowlands, *Rubens. Drawings and Sketches. Catalogue of an exhibition of the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, London, 1977, p118, no. 158.
  - 2 British Library MS Sloane 2052.
  - 3 British Library MS Sloane 2052 and Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Europe's Physician: The Various Life of Sir Theodore de Mayerne*, New Haven and London, 2006, pp338-40.
  - 4 There are several (partial) editions and translations of the manuscript, for example: E Berger, *Quellen für Maltechnik während der Renaissance und deren Folgezeit (XVI.-XVIII. Jahrhundert) in Italien, Spanien, den Niederlanden, Deutschland, Frankreich und England nebst dem de Mayerne Manuskript*, Beiträge zur Entwicklungs-Geschichte der Maltechnik IV, München, 1901; J A van de Graaf, *Het De Mayerne manuscript als bron voor de schiedertechniek van de barok*, *British Museum, Sloane 2052*, Mijdsrecht, 1958.
  - 5 Ibid, pp148-52.
  - 6 Theodore de Mayerne kept notes of many of the consultations with his patients in his *Epbemerides*. These notes are spread over 25 manuscripts, now in the British Library MSS Sloane 2058-2076; also MS 444 at the Royal College of Physicians contains part of the notes of 1634-38.
  - 7 Karen Hearn, 'Johnson, Cornelius (bap. 1593, d. 1661)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004 [http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulis.lon.ac.uk/view/article/14657] and Idem, 'The English career of Cornelius Johnson', in J Roding, EJ Sluiter, B Westerweel, et al, eds, *Dutch and Flemish artists in Britain 1550-1800*, Leiden, 2003, p113.
  - 8 Hearn, 'The English career of Cornelius Johnson', p115.
  - 9 'a good painter': British Library MS Sloane 2052, fol 152r.
  - 10 'an excellent painter', British Library MS Sloane 2052, fol 153r.
  - 11 Discussions about the identity of this sitter date back to 1903, when the Harveian Librarian of the RCP contacted Lionel Cust, director of the National Portrait Gallery at the time, to ask him his opinion on the identity. All documentation and correspondence on the portrait is kept at the Heritage Centre of the RCP.
  - 12 The portrait is currently in a private collection in New York. There is a contemporary copy of the portrait at the Bodleian Library; see K Garlick, *Catalogue of Portraits in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 2004, p164.
  - 13 RCP MS-PALMR/337: Ralph Palmer, *The Life of the Most Eminent Dr. Baldwin Hamey, 1733*, p14. Of course, it is possible that Palmer's description derived from the features of the portrait, possibly wrongly identified as Hamey Jr. But Palmer is certainly not speaking about a three-quarter length portrait of Hamey in his own possession, and he explicitly distinguishes portraits of heads only from three-quarter length portraits.
  - 14 See Emilie ES Gordenker, *Anthony Van Dyck (1599-1641) and the representation of dress in seventeenth-century portraiture*, Turnhout, 2001, p34 and Marieke de Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy: Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's paintings*, Amsterdam, 2006, p36.
  - 15 Winkel, op cit, pp63-6.
  - 16 I am in debt to Sophie Wright for studying this part of the painting very thoroughly in 'Case Notes: comprehending 'knowledge' in Cornelius Johnson's *Portrait of a Physician* (1637)', MA thesis, Courtauld Institute, London, 2009. See also H Petroski, *The book on the bookshelf*, New York, 1999, pp78-80, 119-23.
  - 17 Alan G Debus, *The English Paracelsians*, London, 1965, pp16-7.
  - 18 Walter Pagel and P Rattansi, 'Vesalius and Paracelsus', *Medical History*, vol VIII, no. 4 (1964), p318.
  - 19 Debus, op cit, pp125-7.
  - 20 On Montpellier, see Trevor-Roper, op cit, pp23-4. On Padua, see Jonathan Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors. English Students in Italy 1485-1603*, Toronto, 1998, pp74-5. On Leiden, especially strong at anatomy and botany, see GA Lindeboom, 'Medical education in the Netherlands, 1575-1750', in CD O'Malley, ed, *The History of Medical Education*, Berkely, Los Angeles, London, 1970, pp201-2.
  - 21 JS Finch, *A Catalogue of the Libraries of Sir Thomas Browne and Dr Edward Browne, his son*, Leiden, 1986. On Thomas Browne and his interest in Paracelsian ideas, see A Cunningham, 'Sir Thomas Browne and his *Religio Medici*: Reason, Nature and Religion', in OP Grell and A Cunningham, eds, *'Religio Medici'. Medicine and Religion in Seventeenth-Century England*, Aldershot, 1996, p43.
  - 22 Debus, op cit, p127.
  - 23 G Urdang, 'The Mystery about the first English (London) Pharmacopoeia (1618)', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, vol XII (1942), pp304-13; GN Clark, *A History of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, 3 vols, London, 1964-70, I, 1964, pp227-9.
  - 24 Trevor-Roper, op cit, pp210-7.
  - 25 Andrew Wear, 'Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700', in Lawrence I Conrad, Michael Neve, Vivian Nutton, et al, *The Western Medical Tradition, 800 BC to AD 1800*, Cambridge, 1995, p310.
  - 26 See Mayerne's own case books, for example RCP MS 444, pp62, 67-70, etc.
  - 27 Wear, op cit, p309-10.
  - 28 Davis, 'Rubens and Mayerne', MA thesis, University of North Carolina, 1967, pp23-4.
  - 29 From British Library, Add MS 20.921, fols 9v-10r. In translation: 'If I did not know myself, I would run the risk of being vain-glorious, but not to the point of believing that my portrait should be surrounded by the ornaments of an Aesculapius, and a light house inviting the ships into the safe harbour.'
  - 30 Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'The Huguenots and Medicine', in R Vigne and C Littleton, eds, *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550-1750*, Brighton, 2001, p203.
  - 31 IJ Vandewiele, 'De Farmacie in de tijd van Rubens (16e-17e eeuw)', in *Geneeskunde rond Rubens*, Antwerp, 1977, pp35-7.
  - 32 Guiseppe Maria Mitelli, *Le Ventiquattr' hore dell' humana felicità*, Bologna, 1675, Pl 22. In facsimile: printed in Urbana, 1995.
  - 33 There is a long tradition of depicting philosophers, scholars and other learned men in their study surrounded by shelved and open books, going back to the Middle Ages. See for example Wolfgang Liebenwein, *Studiolo: Die Entstehung eines Raumtyps und seine Entwicklung bis um 1600*, Berlin, 1977, pp53-55.
  - 34 K Jurina, *Vom Quacksalber zum Doctor Medicinæ: Die Heilkunde in der deutsche Graphik des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Cologne and Vienna, 1985, pp167-79.
  - 35 MS BL Sloane 2052, fol 152r; Hearn, 'The English Career of Cornelius Johnson', p123.
  - 36 F Donovan, *Rubens and England*, New Haven and London, 2004, p63.
  - 37 Trevor-Roper, *Europe's Physician*, p343.
  - 38 Ibid, p321.
  - 39 Ibid, p324; and RCP MS 444, pp104 and 148.
  - 40 William Munk, *Roll of the Royal College of Physicians*, online edn, London, 2004 [http://munksroll.rcplondon.ac.uk/]; and Trevor-Roper, *Europe's Physician*, pp324-5.
  - 41 Debus, op cit, ch 4.
  - 42 Trevor-Roper, *Europe's Physician*, Appendix C.
  - 43 This article is a part of the results of a research project on the identity of the Johnson portrait, funded by the Royal College of Physicians and carried out during 2009. Several more candidates for the identity are still in the running, the most likely being John Bathurst (d. 1659) and Lewin Fludd (1612-1678). The report of the project is available at the Heritage Centre of the RCP.